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woman of small fortune must give entertainments, she cannot afford to pay people to make preparations; therefore while she is employed in such occupations, her children run into mischief, if they are not either sent to nurse, or to school: this woman must also return visits, which practice is as bad or worse for her family. Another woman devotes her time to the fine arts, or to literary pursuits, while her children are in the same danger. We generally see that unnecessary occupations consume more time than positive business; a great deal of which can be done in the midst of tractable chil-

dren, and girls soon learn to assist their mother.

Mrs D. I am so perplexed with the charge of one child, that I often wonder how people do who have a great many children.

Mrs E. It is a vulgar saying, "the hen that can scratch for one, can scratch for ten;" and it is generally observed that many children are as easily managed as one, and in some cases, perhaps, more so; this is one plea used in favour of boarding-schools, because more system is established in them for the necessary well government of the family.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. GEORGE WALKER.

Continued from p. 368, No. XXVIII.

IN 1780, Mr. Burke brought forward his celebrated motion for a reform in the public expenditure. As a prelude to this, petitions had been presented from Yorkshire and other counties in support of this measure. Mr. Walker on this occasion exerted himself with considerable effect in procuring one from the county of Nottingham. He drew up the petition, and concluded his speech on the occasion, in the following energetic words:

"Go on then, ye people of England, in the course in which ye have set out, and turn not to the right, or to the left, for all the shadowy phantoms, which those who wish you no speed may dress up to beguile or awe you. As from you originated the good work, on your constancy and firmness entirely depends the bringing it to a happy issue, the obtaining all your wishes. Every art, every sophistry, every false alarm, and hypocritical jealousy will be

tried to disunite, to unman you; but if you suffer yourselves to be overreached, to be intimidated, you have made your last attempt for your country, for yourselves, and for your children; and you will fall below the level of other slaves; the character of Englishmen, the very character of men will not be left you. But I look for better things, I see no room for fear, for any thing but the most reviving, animating hope. The line of the people's sufferance is past, and ministerial rapacity and oppression shrink before you. For as there is no power which ought, so there is no power which can withstand you, if you be not wanting to yourselves. See! the tide is turned, the ebb of Britain is over; and fair integrity: and generous, unbought patriotism; and decent, manly liberty; and all your truest glory are revisiting this favoured island. Welcome them, seize them, hold them; and may that being, who is propitious to honest and good designs, bless the British people with all success!"

The next public question, that engaged his attention, was the subject of parliamentary reform. The unconstitutional influence of the minister had been so clearly evinced in the prolongation of the war contrary to the general sentiment of the country, that it became apparent even to the most prejudiced observer, that the house of commons was no longer the organ of the national voice, while the termination of those hostilities, which had been so obstinately persevered in by one parliament, having been effected upon the meeting of a new one, most forcibly evinced the impolicy of continuing for so long a period a trust that could not subsequently be revoked, and over which little or no controul could be exercised. These glaring defects, to which with justice all the calamities of the country were attributed, had excited the general attention to the correction of those abuses in the representation of the people, which, by destroying the independence of parliament, and detaching its interests from that of the people, had rendered it a mere passive instrument in the hand of the minister. If the spirit which was manifested on this occasion, and which contributed to that celebrated decision of the house, that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished, had received that encouragement *from above*, to which its laudable and patriotic tendency entitled it, it might ultimately have led to such a reformation of public affairs, as every friend to the future happiness and prosperity of his country would have rejoiced in; but it has been the misfortune of the present reign, to have been uniformly marked by an alienation from those enlarged and liberal principles, which should characterize the administration of a free country: thus

while it met with every discouragement from government, there was not sufficient zeal and unanimity in the people, to give that necessary degree of confidence and authority to their leaders, to enable them to contend with so formidable an opposition, backed as it was by those seducing applications to the personal interests, the ambition, and the avarice of individuals. Year after year marked some flagrant dereliction of principle on the part of their leaders, till at length the all-corrupting influence of the court had so thinned the ranks of the reformers, that the virtuous few who remained could only lament the failure of their well meant efforts, and the prospect of those evils, which such selfish and illiberal principles of government necessarily produce.

Of the various meetings which were summoned throughout the kingdom for the furtherance of this object, there were few so important either in respect of the number or the rank of the individuals who attended, as that which assembled at Mansfield on the 28th of October 1782.

On being requested by several who attended the meeting to deliver his sentiments on the occasion, Mr. Walker rose and made a long speech replete with sound constitutional principles.

This speech excited the strongest marks of approbation from the meeting. Among those who expressed themselves most particularly gratified was that illustrious patriot the late sir George Saville.

The present duke of Norfolk also thanked him in the name of the meeting. So favourable an introduction to the notice of the great, accompanied by such flattering testimonies of their approbation, might have endangered the humility of a poor minister of the gospel, and excited expectations incompatible

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with the purity of his motives. If private advantage had been the actuating principle of his conduct, a field was now open to him, which he might have cultivated with success, and where his talents could scarcely have failed of reaping a reward: but he was instigated by other motives than those of personal emolument: at a time which he thought required the exertions of every virtuous citizen, he stepped forward to discharge his duty to his country; and, satisfied with this, he returned to the private walk of his profession, without any exertion to prolong his acquaintance with the great, though without retiring from their proffered civilities.

Subsequent meetings both of the town and county were held for the purpose of furthering this object; and in all of these his services were exerted with great advantage to the cause he espoused. In the year 1785, another general meeting of the county was summoned, where, in support of the petition which he drew up for the occasion, he delivered one of the most animated and energetic defences of the measure, that perhaps ever was made.

He began with endeavouring to restore the harmony of the meeting, which had been something endangered by one gentleman indulging the warmth of the moment, and expressing more than he probably intended, and by other gentlemen apprehending too much from even an indirect opposition to a measure, in which their hearts were so honestly concerned. He was persuaded, that they agreed in wishing well to the general object that was in view, though they might differ in smaller matters, which, whether right or wrong, would not in all probability be even contemplated by the legislature, and therefore, however objects of private speculation, could

not wisely be introduced into public debate. But with respect to the general question, he thought he could clearly collect, that it met all their minds; that the broad face of wisdom, of justice, and of utility, which it presented, enforced approbation or submission from all. It seemed to be conceded by all, that their representative body was not what it ought to be, and that the national security, which a true representation promises, must be abandoned to despair, if its constitutional character were not recovered, if some salutary reform were not effected in this exceedingly degenerated and corrupted body. There was a shame-facedness in the opponents of a parliamentary reform, a shrinking from the question, which induced a suspicion, that their voice was at variance with their heart, or a secret conviction, that no arguments of truth, of right, of fitness, or of wisdom, could be adduced to give a colour to their opposition. The reform, which the petition prayed for, was constitutional, it was wise, it was necessary. In vindicating its claim to a constitutional right, he repeated in a concise manner that historic view of our constitution, which he had stated at large to the county when it was last assembled at Mansfield. To this he added, that the same clear truth was to be inferred from the very theory of our constitution, as it was conceived by every one, by foreigners as well as natives. No one ever expressed his idea of it in other terms, than that of a coalescence of three distinct estates for a common good. The only three civil orders of men, which the idea or experience of government can give birth to, and which separately or unitedly stamps a character on every government that man has known, were all adopted by the excellent constitution of these kingdoms, that

what might not safely be intrusted to one or two of the three, might be secured by the union of all, that they might form a well-balanced depository of that supreme power, which every government must somewhere repose. This, whether in the same terms or no, is the idea which has ever been entertained of the British government, which every writer on the subject has expressed ; it is the common notion of us all, for which we might equally appeal to the enemies as to the friends of the petition. But the truth and essence of this fine idea of the British government was gone, if one of these three independent orders of the state were utterly swallowed up by one or both of the remaining two. There ought to be a common sense, a decent consistency in our notions, whatever they be ; yet men and Britons can so far abandon all sense and meaning, as to talk with rapture of the unrivalled form of their government, yet acknowledge as an uncontested fact, that one of the three orders, the independency of which enters into the very theory of this government, is, as to all its efficacy and power, created and controlled by the other two. Either maintain, that the government of these kingdoms is wisely reduced from three orders to two, or reassert the independence of that house of commons, which was meant to originate from us, and to be actuated by our soul. In the true spirit and virtue of our constitution, we were designed to be freemen ; abandoned to the will of the other two orders of the state, we must descend with the other nations of the earth to the condition of slaves ; for it is not in human wisdom to provide for freedom, when all power is surrendered to those higher ranks of life, whom virtue sooner quits, and who are not formed to sympathize

with the degraded mass of the community

In maiutenance of the same constitutional right, he appealed to the constitutional language of these kingdoms. The meaning of established terms, early adopted by, and for ever preserved in the course of any government, exhibited the most decisive proofs of the original spirit and intention of its constitution. King, Lords, and Commons, meant three seperate unmixed political orders, or meant nothing that answered to the expressions. These terms never meant, nor will be maintained at this day to mean, that the commons are comprehended in the king, are comprehended in the lords, or are compieheaded in the king and lords together. We know the personages designed by king and lords, and do we not know ourselves, under the designation of a term borrowed from our own rank of life ? Does the unvaried language of our government for ever instruct us whom the commons in parliament were designed to represent, from whom they were to originate, and for whom specially to act ; and shall we submit ourselves to believe, that our proper representation can proceed from the lords, that the commons of England are to be found in the absolute creatures of the king and lords, nominated by their voice, and obedient to their will ? If the constitution be changed, and it be fit that it should continue to be changed, let the language be changed also ; let not the abused commonalty be insulted with the mockery of names and sounds, which preserve only the painful remembrance of what they have lost, which embitter the sense of their ruined state, by continually holding up the beautiful picture of what they were designed to be, and what even at this moment, unless by their own

abandonment, they may recover themselves to. If it must not be, that by our true and proper representatives we are in future to have an equal voice in the legislative body of these kingdoms, let the style as well as the existence of the commons be abandoned; let it be avowed and declared, that the king and lords devise laws, dispose of life and liberty, and give and grant to whatever extent the public money — This is the plain naked truth: the king and lords do of their own absolute pleasure make, and by their own absolute pleasure govern a vast majority of the commons' house in parliament, and they who make and rule the majority make and rule the whole. Let then the man, who sets his face against the manly claim of the people's usurped rights, come forward, and say that these things are not; or let him not gather himself up in affected anger, when he is told, that w^th the confessed knowledge of departed rights, he is willing to abandon them to the destroyer, and is active only in the cause of the destroyer; in resisting the well meant efforts of those, who, in the revival of the true spirit of the constitution, still hope to save their falling country. No! They see not the infamy and ruin of their own conduct; and because names and forms are still suffered to remain, they believe, that the glorious constitution of their ancestors still exists in all its wise and virtuous provision for the public good. These names and these forms ought to be documents and proofs to them, that a great and dangerous corruption has taken place; they ought even to the commonest mind to hold up a most alarming truth. He observed it to be almost unworthy of children to be amused and soothed with the illusion of a mere name or form, when the reality was gone; it would

not be a greater folly to look for the man in his grave, because with his former name he was committed thereto. But he added as a serious fact, that the more liberal is any government, the more terrible are the consequences of its corruption, and that tyranny never appears in so awful a form, as when it comes in, the shape and semblance of a once free constitution. A naked and undisguised despotism must observe some terms with human nature, but, under the venerable sanction of liberty, it abandons itself to every caprice and excess. Thus the form of the Roman republic was preserved by the Roman emperors, but the corruption of it under this form degenerated into the most horrid and wanton tyranny, that man ever submitted to.

From this evidence of a constitutional spirit in the reform, Mr. Walker passed to the expediency and necessity of it. It were absurd to look for any of the wise and salutary effects of a constitution, unless from the reality of those very provisions, which constituted all that was wise and salutary in its plan.— The wisdom and health of our constitution was not to be found in the existence of a king, not in that of lords, not in that of commons singly and separately, but in the well-tempered mixture of the regal, the aristocratic, and the popular power. But if one of these essential parts have passed into a mere nullity, the ground of dependence is vanished, and with it all the hope and possibility of the singular blessings, which so singular a constitution promised. It was not from any supernatural wisdom in our rude and unlettered ancestors, that a form of government originated, which mocked all the wisdom and policy of the Greeks and Romans. It flowed from their very simplicity, from their knowing no

essential distinction of man from man, from an honest adherence to this single principle, an equality of rights in all whom they acknowledged as freemen, an equal claim of law, of liberty, of property, and life.—And he observed as a general rule, that one honest principle is worth all the mysterious policy and cunning of the world, and will ever conduct to more true wisdom and solid good. In the separation of a king and lords they intended a provision for public utility, but in the representatives of themselves, in the reserving to this representative body a controlling power in all the deliberations of the sovereign legislature, they contemplated the essence and the security of what was dear to themselves. What has preserved and transmitted this blessing to us can alone preserve and transmit it to our posterity. If the commons of England are not truly and honestly represented, the third estate is a mere name, and the popular liberty is the mere sufferance of the day ; it rests not, as with our manly ancestors, on the solid security of holding it in our hands. If evil had not already originated from this degeneracy of our original constitution, yet, when the security is gone, evil must infallibly ensue ; and on the mere ground of prevention, it would at any moment be wise and worthy of the people to recover the government to that state, for which the petition prays.

But to the plea of expediency is added the pressing one of necessity. The nation is bowing under the heaviest of ills, that a people can be conceived to exist under, and all proceeding from the very corruption of the representative body, which the petition deplores. These have been amply and pathetically stated by Major Cartwright, and therefore need not be again repeated.

But there is nothing wonderful in these evils ; the wonder is, that they have not sooner made their appearance. When the proper guardian is removed from his trust, it were folly to look for its preservation.—If the crown united with its confederate lords be represented by a great majority in the pretended house of commons, is it any wonder, that ministerial folly and wickedness should drive the nation to the pit ? They who command all are not your agents, they receive no commission from you, they laugh at the idea of being accountable to you. They know their proper master, and their master's pleasure they will do. Sure of being supported by the whole legislative body, the minister is emboldened to every attempt; flagitiousness springs out of security. But unless the people bow their necks to this abuse, to meet in stupid silence whatever of remaining ruin another profligate administration may bring upon them ; no other path is left for them, than what the petition points out : a manly reassertion of their constitutional rights, and the giving motion and efficacy to those means, which may render the house of commons again the true representative and the faithful guardian of the nation. It is big with horror but to think of the precarious ground, on which at every moment the existence of a free people rests. Divide the representative body into three parts ; the people have not the appointment of so much as one of these parts. If they who create the other two should please to combine, and the growing prostitution of the higher ranks gives too much credibility to such a supposition, one blow might decide our fate, and we might sink in an instant into servitude and oppression. We have no constitutional protector existing, which could

resist and avert the awful ruin — What a prospect does the whole history of a late administration present ! With what force does it bring home to the most stupid and obstinate the necessity of an instant reform ! In the present moment a reform may save ; another experiment like to what has past will place salvation out of the reach of all reform.

He concluded with some observations on the septennial act. He asserted it to be the mere creature of meditated corruption, and that from the moment of its violent birth, corruption has walked over the face of this country like a fiend of hell. Truth and fact scorn the insulting plea of necessity, of a tender regard to the protestant religion, to the house of Hanover. Had the battles of Preston and Sheriff Muir not been fought before this daring power was usurped, the framers of the septennial act might have been believed to have acted from a patriotic motive. But when the national fears were blown over, when the friends of Rome and the pretender were humbled to the dust, only then, in the moment of triumphant security, was this monster of corruption brought forth. The continuance of septennial parliaments, to this day is a demonstration of the principle, from which they proceeded.

If parliament were actually in the people's nomination, this act would alone suffice to vitiate parliament, and estrange it from the people — In such a length of time they forget their constituents, think themselves independent, become self-willed, are worth a purchase which no ordinary form of virtue can resist, and in the hope and confidence of this the minister can dare to apply the national purse to their seducement. These are not dreams and specula-

tions, they are the mere history of the progress of the septennial act ; and while that continues, it is almost against human nature to secure a virtuous representation ; — while the horror of such a precedent, the thought that the usurpation of seven years may sanctify the usurpation of life, or of inheritance, is enough to make every honest man tremble. On every view, therefore, he gave his assent to the petition.

About the year 1787, a variety of circumstances concurred, to favour an application to the legislature for a repeal of the corporation and test acts ; and very strenuous exertions were made on the part of the whole dissenting interest of the kingdom, to effect a liberation from the pains and disabilities of those disgraceful and vexatious statutes. As this was a subject in which Mr. Walker felt himself more immediately interested, he exerted himself, as well on the ground of individual suffering as of abstract principle, with great zeal and assiduity. The idea of this application originated at a meeting of deputies from the different congregations in London and its vicinity, in January 1787, in consequence of which a motion was made without success, though supported with extraordinary ability by Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Fox, and others. On this occasion it was objected, that the application was made by the dissenters of the metropolis only, without the co-operation of their brethren in the country, who were stated to be generally indifferent to the success of the measure. To obviate this, and at the same time to give additional weight and respectability to their application, the London committee thought proper to seek the support of their friends in the country ; in which they met with great success. But it was not till the plan of union proposed by the

Birmingham committee, in October 1789, was generally adopted, that they felt themselves entitled to declare that they acted in the name and by the authority of the whole body of dissenters throughout the kingdom.—The object of this plan was to form a well connected union of the dissenters throughout England, by a chain of intercourse and communion, advancing in order through successive gradations to a representation of the whole body in a general or national meeting at London. The adoption of this was strongly enforced by Mr. Walker, both in his individual capacity, and as the chair-

man of the associated dissenters of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and part of Yorkshire. For this purpose he addressed a letter to a general meeting at Leicester, in December 1789, which, on account of the able manner in which it enforced the necessity of the proposed union, was afterward printed by different committees, generally circulated through the kingdom, and deemed to have contributed in no small degree to the adoption of that regularly organized system of action, which the plan contemplated.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Brief Observations on the Address to his Majesty, proposed by Earl Grey in the House of Lords, 13th June, 1810, by William Roscoe, Esq.—Liverpool printed, 1810. 44 p.p.

If requires a considerable degree of civil courage, a quality of the first importance in perilous and bad times, to oppose the current of public opinion running in a wrong direction, and undauntedly to resist the "ardor civium prava jubentium." We are pleased to see a writer of the eminence to which the historian of Lorenzo De Medici, and Leo X. is justly entitled, come forward once more, after two former pamphlets on a similar subject, in the laudable attempt to disabuse popular error, and to publish truths that are displeasing, because they contravene hastily established but firmly rooted prejudices, and we willingly embrace the opportunity of endeavouring to give greater publicity to this pamphlet, as corroborating sentiments which have so repeatedly appeared in our pages, on the bad policy of continuing the war.

The English nation never relinquish their fondness for war, until they are forced by severe lessons learned in the rugged school of adversity, to surrender their propensity for this desperate game. To prove this fondness for war to be a prevailing favourite opinion in the English public, we have only to look back to the events of the present reign. The peace of 1763 was unpopular, and raised a great outcry against the makers of it. However just was the odium against Lord Bute on account of his favouritism and his tory principles of arbitrary power, probably the accusations against him for making the peace were unfounded, and only proved that war was better liked by the nation than peace. A long series of aggressions on the part of a ministry of despotic high prerogative principles, in which however, let us remember they were supported by a large majority, both in and out of parliament, ended in the American war. Martial ardour, as far as coolly supplying the means, was now in full force, till